

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-09 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-14 OIC-04 T-03 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 INRE-00 AECE-00 RSR-01 /156 W
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P 131157 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8020

SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS PRIORITY 226

USNMR/ SHAPE PRIORITY

USLOSACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDEL SALT TWO II PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 2003

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING MORNING MARCH 12, 1973

REF: USNATO 1242

SUMMARY. MORNING OF MARCH 12 AD HOC GROUP MEETING FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DISCUSSIONS OF HOW TO INTERPRET AND HOW TO IMPLEMENT NAC INSTRUCTIONS. PRINCIPAL ISSUES WERE WHETHER AND HOW MUCH LATITUDE AD HOC GROUP HAD IN TREATMENT OF UK PROPOSAL (PARA B, REFTEL), AND HOW AND WHEN TO GET STARTED PROBING EAST ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE AND HOW TO KEEP THEM GOING. AFTER DEBATE, THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT AD HOC GROUP COULD CONSIDER UK PROPOSAL, BUT THAT IT COULD NOT BE PUT FORWARD AS SUCH WITHOUT NAC APPROVAL. GROUP
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AGREED TO ATTEMPT INITIAL PROBE OF SOVS (PRESUMABLY WITH HUNGARI-
ANS PRESENT) ON MARCH 13, ON BASIS OF TALING POINTS REFLECTING
AGREED CONCEPTS FLOWING FROM NAC INSTRUCTIONS, RATHER THAN PRECISE
FORMULATIONS. THERE WAS AGREEMENT TO LEAVE QUESTION OF WHAT
POINTS TO EMPHASIZE AND GENERAL ORDER TO DUTCH AND US REPS, WHO
WERE AUTHORIZED TO CALL FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH EAST FOLLOW-
ING DAY. US AND BELGIAN REPORTS OF MARCH 9 CONVERSATIONS WITH
POLES SUGGESTED THAT EAST WAS CONSIDERING STATIONED FORCES, IN-
DIGENOUS FORCES, CONSTRAINTS, PRINCIPLES AND VERIFICATION AS
POSSIBLE AGENDA ITEMS, PLUS NON- CURCUMVENTION, IF ONLY AS GENERAL-
IZED FORMULA. END SUMMARY.

1. PORTUGUESE REP (CONDE), CHAIRMAN OF THE WEEK, OPENED THE MEET-
ING BY WELCOMING ADREAENSSEN, WILLOT AND THOMPSON WHO HAD RETURNED
FROM BRUSSELS.

2. EASTERN BILATERALS: US REP REPORTED CONTACT WITH POLISH DELE-
GATION WHERE, AT POLISH INITIATIVE, TWO MEMBERS OF THE US DELEGA-
TION MET THE EVENING OF FRIDAY, MARCH 9, WITH TWO MEMBERS OF THE
POLISH DELEGATION (DR. BAKO AND MR. KARKOSZKA). THE POLES WERE
SPECIFICALLY INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT OF AGENDA TOPICS SAYING
THAT THEY WERE IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING A SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR
DISCUSSION AMONG EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. US DELEGATION OFFICERS EX-
PLAINED THAT THEY WERE IN NO POSITION TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS OR TO
HELP THE POLES WITH THIS TASK, BUT WERE GLAD TO LISTEN. DURING
THE COURSE OF CONVERSATION, THE POLES MENTIONED THAT MAJOR HEADING
WOULD BE FORCES TO BE REDUCED. OTHER HEADINGS COULD INCLUDE STA-
TIONED FORCES; INDIGENOUS FORCES; NON- CIRCUMVENTION; CONSTRAINTS,
PRINCIPLES; VERIFICATION.

3. " NON- CIRCUMVENTION" (SIC) WAS DESCRIBED BY ONE POLE AS A POS-
SIBLE AGENDA ITEM. ASKED TO ELABORATE WHAT IT COULD ENCOMPASS HE
SAID IT COULD INCLUDE AN AGREEMENT NOT TO INCREASE STATIONED (SIC)
FORCES IN HUNGARY, NORTHERN ITALY, DENMARK, AND NORWAY. ASKED ON
WHAT BASIS THE WESTERN AREAS WERE MENTIONED, HE DID NOT SEEM TOO
SURE, BUT SAID DENMARK AND NORWAY WERE IMPORTANT FROM THE POLISH
VIEWPOINT. HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON WHY HE SUGGESTED " NORTHERN"
ITALY. THE OTHER POLE DID NOT MENTION NON- CIRCUMVENTION SPECIFI-
CALLY, OR AS AN AGENDA ITEM, BUT SPOKE IN GENERAL TERMS OF A
LIMITATION ON SOVIET FORCES IN HUNGARY.

4. THE ABOVE LISTING OF POSSIBLE TOPICS WAS NOT GIVEN SERIATIM
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BY EITHER POLE, BUT WAS PLACED TOGETHER FROM ITEMS MENTIONED BY
BOTH IN PARALLEL SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH US DELEGATION OFFI-
CERS.

5. BELGIAN REP (ADREAENSSEN) REPORTED THAT POLISH REP (STRULAK) APPARENTLY FEARS THAT NEUTRALS IN HELSINKI HAD TAKEN INCREASED INTEREST IN MILITARY PROBLEMS, THAT THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT POLES THINKING IN TERMS OF VERY GENERAL NON- CIRCUMVENTION FORMULATION SUCH AS TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD NOT BE REDEPLOYED IN SOIL OF NEIGHBORING HOST COUNTRIES, OR " NEIGHBORING ZONES".

6. NAC GUIDANCE: DISCUSSION ON HOW NAC INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD BE INTERPRETED FOCUSED INITIALLY ON DISCUSSION OF RELATIONS IN PARA A AND B USNATO 1242 OR MORE SPECIFICALLY ON HOW AND WHERE " UK IDEA OF TACTICS" COULD BE " CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF VIENNA TALKS." FRG REP SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF PROCEEDING WITH UK PLAN IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS HERE, PERHAPS AS SUBJECT OF LATER PROBE WITH THE EAST. ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) SUPPORTED BY THE TURKISH REP, SAID IF PROBE BASED ON US APPROACH WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY OTHER SIDE, UK IDEA NEEDED TO BE CONSIDERED IN BRUSSELS AGAIN RATHER THAN ACTED ON IN VIENNA. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) POINTED OUT THT NAC MESSAGE APPEARED TO SUGGEST THAT UK IDEA BE CONSIDERED HERE IN VIENNA. ITALIANS AGREED THAT IT COULD BE CONSIDERED HERE (WE HAVE BEGUN TO DO SO ALREADY HE SAID) BUT THAT IT WAS UP TO COUNCIL TO DECIDE QUESTION.

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-09 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-14 OIC-04 T-03 AEC-11 ACDA-19

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P 131157 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3021

INFO SECDEF PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS PRIORITY 227

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USLOSACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDEL SALT TWO
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 2003

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

7. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) ASKED WHO SHOULD BE PROBED, AND BY WHOM I. E. USSR ALONE, USSR PLUS HUNGARY, AND WHETHER WEST AS USUAL, WOULD BE REPRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES AND MR. DEAN. THERE WAS GENERRL AGREEMENT TO DANISH REP' S SUGGESTION OF FIRST PROBING SOVIETSS AND POSSIBLE HUNGARY. ITALIAN REP SAID AFTER FIRST DAY' S TALK, OTHER WARSAW PAXT MEMBERS COULD BE ADDED IN SEPARATE FOLLOW- ON CONVERSATIONS.

8. BELGIAN REP STRESSED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO START WITH CONCEPT THAT MADE PROBES LOOK FLEXIBLE AND INFORMAL. SHOULD THE WEST DECIDE TO TAKE FURTHER STPES ALONG LINES OF US SUGGESTION. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID HAVING CLEARCUT " NO" AT THE END OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST OF PARA A OF NAC INSTRUCTIONS.

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9. DUTCH REP (AUARELS) SAID THAT WE WOULD NEED TO CONSIDER THE BRITISH PROPOSAL AT SOME STAGE, BUT IT WAS NOT USEFUL VEHICLE FOR RESOLUTION OF HUNGARIAN QUESTION. IT COULD HOWEVER BE CONSIDERED AS WAY TO DISCUSS AGENDA ITEMS WITH EAST.

10. CONCEPTS FOR PROBING EAST: US REP NOTED THAT ALLIES HAD BEEN REFLECTING ON HUNGARIAN QUESTION OVER THE PAST FOUR WEEKS AND HAD BEEN INDIVIDUALLY ARRIVING AT A VARIETY OF CONCLUSIONS. HE CIRCULATED SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS (SENT SEPTEL AS FINALLY APPROVED). THE GROUP, ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTURCIIONS FROM THE NAC, DESIRED AN APPROACH TO BE MADE TO THE EAST. TALKING POINTS, US REP SAID, WERE BASED ON THE FEBRUARY 9 PAPER AND THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL OF 23 FEBRUARY AS DISCUSSED IN NAC. TALKING POINTS WOULD BE USED IF GROUP DEISRED BY US REP, NETHERLANDS REP, OR OTHERS, TO PROBE FIRMNESS OF PRESENT EASTERN POSITION AS WELL AS RECEPTIVITY TO NEW CONCEPTS.

11. SINCE MAJOR CONCERN AT THIS POINT IS TO CONTINUE EXPLORATIONS WITH THE EAST UNTIL ALLIES HAVE CONCLUSIONS WHICH CAN BE FORWARDED TO THE NAC, AND INFORMAL PROBE OF THE EAST STANDS A GREATER CHANCE OF GAINING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE THAN WOULD FORMAL PAPER. US REP ADDED THAT IN THE LAST GO- AROUND THE ALLIES MADE THE MISTAKE BY ALLOWING THE DIALOGUE WITH THE EAST TO BE BROKEN OFF AFTER THE SOVIETS HAD REPLIED TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL

OF FEBRUARY 23. THIS WAS NOT A NECESSARY OUTCOME AND POSSIBLY CAUSED HARDENING OF THE SOVIET POSITION IN THE INTERIM. THE ALLIES SHOULD ADVANCE CONCEPTS RATHER THAN SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS. THIS WAS AN APPROACH WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO IN OTHER CONTEXTS, AND SHOULD THEREFORE CAUSE NO DIFFICULTY. BY USING THE DEVICE OF SETTLING ON A FUTURE APPOINTMENT AFTER EACH MEETING WITHH THE EAST, THE ALLIES COULD INSURE THATTHE DIALOGUE DID NOT BREAK DOWN AGAIN. WE SHOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE TO THE EAST THHE OBLIGATION THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE TO REACH A COMPROMISE.

12. US REP THEN ASKED HOW THE GROUP WISHED TO PROCEED. WHILE IT WOULD BE LOGICAL FOR THE USS AND NETHERLANDS REPS TO CONTINUE USING THEIR ESTABLISHED CHANNEL WITH THE SOVIETS, THE GROUP SHOULD DECIDE TO WHAT EXTENT EFFORT SHOULD FOCUS ON THE SOVIETS OR ON OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS.

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GROUP GENERALLY RESPONDED FOAVORABLY TO SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ADVANCED BY US REP. CANADIAN REP REPEATED THE GROUP WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHO WOULD PROBE FOR EASTERN DELEGATIONS. DANISH REP THEN SAID THAT HE WOULD FAVOR A PROBE LIMITED TO THE SOVIETS AND POSSIBLY HUNGARY. GREEK REP FELT THAT IT WOULD BE MORE PRODUCTIVE TO CONCENTRATE ON USING QUARLES- DEAN CHANNEL TO APPROACH THE SOVIETS AND HUNGARY. ITALIAN REP, NOTING THAT PRESENTATION OF THE TALKING POINTS AND ENSUING CONVERSATIONS MIGHT TAKE SEVERAL DAYS, THOUGHT THAT GROUP CONSIDER SUPPLEMENTING THE DEAN- QUARLES CHANNELS WITH OTHER CONTACTS. THE NETHERLANDS REP INTERVENED TO SAY THAT THE PROBE COULD BE WIDENED TO OTHER EASTERN DELS AS THE GROUP EVALUATED HOW THEY DIALOGUE WAS PROGRESSING.

13. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) VOICED AGREEMENT WITH THE TACTICS SUGGESTED BY THE US REP AND ADDED THAT IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE GROUP AVOIDED THE SORT OF BREAK IN THE DIALOGUE WHICH HAD OCCURRED IN THE PAST. THIS COULD BE DONE, HE FELT, BY PRESENTINT CONCEPTS WHICH ARE FLEXIBLE AND FLUID IN NATURE.

14. NORWEGIAN REP FELT AND US REP AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR THE ALLIES, IN PRESENTING THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE PRESENT IMPASSE, TO MISCONSTRUE THE EASTERN POSITION

ON HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION. THE EAST, HE SAID,
HAD PROPOSED AN ALL 19 FORMULA BEFORE ARRIVING IN
VIENNA AND ONLY AFTER ARRIVING AT THE SITE HAD
THEY IMPLIED ACCEPTANCE OF THE ALLIED DISTINCTION
BETWEEN DIRECT AND SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. THAT
IMPLICATION STEMMED NOT FROM THE TEXT OF EASTERN NOTES
BUT FROM THE RELEGATION OF ROMANIA AND BULGARIA
TO STATUS OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. ON THIS POINT
ITALIAN REP FELT THAT TEXT PRESENTED TO EAST SHOULD
AT LEAST STATE THAT EAST HAD AGREED IN WRITING
THAT SOME NATO PARTICIPANTS WOULD ENJOY SPECIAL STATUS.
US REP AGREED. FRG REP POINTED OUT THAT DIFFERENCE
IN APPROACH WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY EASTERN ATTEMPTS TO
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KEEP THE PARTICIPATION QUESTION OPEN FOR THE
EXPLORATORY TALKS; THEY HAD NEVER SPECIFICALLY OPPOSED
THE INCLUSION OF HUNGARY, HE ADDED. IN CONTRAST,
ITALY HAS FROM THE BEGINNING MADE CLEAR ITS INTENTION
TO NOT PARTICIPATE IN A DIRECT STATUS. NORWEGIAN
AND PORTUGUESE REPS AGREED WITH THESE VIEWS OF
FRG REP.

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-09 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

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ACDA-19 OMB-01 INRE-00 AECE-00 RSR-01 /156 W

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P 131157 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8022

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS PRIORITY 228
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USLOSACLANT PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
USDEL SALT TWO
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

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15. NORWEGIAN REP THEN EXPRESSED FULL CONFIDENCE IN ABILITY OF US AND NETHERLANDS REPS TO MAKE ALLIED VIEWS CLEAR TO THE EAST AND ADDED THAT THE GROUP DID NOT HAVE TO AGREE ON ORDER IN WHICH EACH POINT WAS PRESENTED, OR ON PRECISE FORMULATIONS EMPLOYED. FRG REP SAID HE TOO SHARED NORWEGIAN REP'S CONFIDENCE BUT SAW ADVANTAGE IN HAVING AGREED TALKING POINTS FROM THE GROUP SINCE SOONER OR LATER ALL WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD BE TALKING TO THE EAST AND NO " SCENARIO" HAD BEEN DECIDED UPON YET. FURTHER, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE ALLIES; MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS SHOULD USE A COMMON LANGUAGE IN TALKING TO THE EAST. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE TALKS IT APPEARED THAT THE ALLIES WERE ON THE VERGE OF CONDUCTING REAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE, AND NOT JUST ANOTHER PRESENTATION. US REP COMMENTED THAT BOTH HE AND QUARLES FELT MORE CONFIDENT IN DEALING WITH THE OTHER SIDE IF THEY KNEW THAT THEIR ACTIONS WERE SANCTIONED BY THE GROUP. IN ANY EVENT, ONCE ALLIES REACH AGREE-
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MENT ON A POSITION, DIVERGENT VIEWS SHOULD NOT BE ADVANCED.

16. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, TURKISH REP SEEMED SENSITIVE TO IDEA THAT WEST HAD DROPPED ROTATION OF FLANK PARTICIPANTS, ALTHOUGH AFTER EXPLANATION BY US REP, AND OTHERS, AGREED TO ACCEPT THIS CONCEPT.

17. NORWEGIAN AND FRG REPS SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY THAT EAST WOULD SHIFT FROM CONCERN OVER STATUS OF HUNGARY TO THE NON- PARTICIPANT STATUS OF FRANCE.

18. CANADIAN REP THEN SUGGESTED THAT GROUP CONSIDER BREAKING OFF PRESENTATION OF POINTS TO THE EAST AT SOME JUNCTURE IN ORDER TO PAUSE AND ASK FOR EASTERN VIEWS OR PROPOSALS. US REP COMMENTED THAT ALLIES COULD NOTE LACK OF RESPONSE ON THE PART OF THE EAST, IF THAT WERE THE CASE. HE INDICATED THAT ALLIES COULD SAY THEY HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR EASTERN PROPOSALS BUT HAVE HEARD NONE. UK REP SAID THAT WEST SHOULD NOT SUGGEST IMPATIENCE TO THE EAST, BUT RATHER WORDING WHICH EMPHASIZES MOVING ON TO PLENARY SESSIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

19. NORWEGIAN REP FELT THAT TALKING POINTS SHOULD AVOID REFERENCE TO AMERICAN PAPER OF FEBRUARY 9 WITH IDEA THAT SUCH REFERENCE WAS UNNECESSARILY ABRASIVE. US REP COUNTERED THAT STRUCTURE OF PAPER OF 9 FEBRUARY IS BASICALLY THE SAME AS THAT OF THE 23 RD, ASIDE FROM THE ADDITION OF ANOTHER PARAGRAPH AND SOME AMENDMENTS. WE NEED TO BUILD ON WHAT WE HAVE, HE SAID. GREEK REP FELT THAT IT WOULD BE BAD TACTICS TO LINK A NEW IDEA WITH SOMETHING THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN REJECTED. ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE FIRST DESCRIBE THE NEW CONCEPT AND THEN SPECIFY THE POINTS THAT SHOW HOW NEW CONCEPT FITS INTO THE LINE OF REASONING ALREADY DEVELOPED. FRG AND CANADIAN REPS AGREED.

20. US REP THEN SAID THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CONCEPTUALIZE UNLESS THEY WERE PRESENTED WITH A SPECIFIC IDEA. WE COULD NOT TALK EFFECTIVELY WITHOUT SOME REFERENCE TO PREVIOUS POSITIONS. WE WERE ESSENTIALLY BUILDING UP ON WHAT THE NAC HAD AGREED.

21. GREEK REP SAID THAT GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE IDEAS EMBODIED IN THE TALKING POINTS AND IT WAS PROBABLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT. IN THAT CASE, CONFIDENTIAL

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SHOULD THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN LEAVE OR SHOULD THEY PROVIDE A PRELIMINARY WAY TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE? HE SUGGESTED TWO CRITERIA FOR ANY APPROACH, I. E., THAT IT OPEN UP A CONTINUING DIALOGUE, AND MAKE CLEAR CONCURRENTLY THAT A SOLUTION TO THE UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS MUST BE FOUND.

22. AFTERNOON SESSION REPORTED SEPTEL. HUMES

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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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TAGS: PARM, AU
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GENEVA
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MBFR CAPITALS
SALT TALKS
SECSTATE WASHDC
USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT
USNMR/ SHAPE

Type: TE

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